/705 cont./

844 As a rule, there is only a single actual midwife, never more than two. If the woman in labor cannot obtain a female helper, her husband sometimes gives her some assistance by letting her lean against him, but he does not risk any actual manipulations. She helps by supporting herself with her hands and feet simultaneously. Otherwise she assumes a position which is comfortable for her and which makes possible the effective assistance of the midwife. She squats and spreads her legs wide apart, bracing herself with her hands and feet flat on the ground (124). The midwife squats behind

124. The Indian women, as Hyades (f):568 learned, "when they give birth take merely the squatting position which is their habitual way of sitting when they are in the hut" /translated from French/.

and against her, encircling her abdomen. She must form a strong support, for the expectant mother holds herself in a semi-upright position. When the pains begin, the midwife, groping with her hands, tries to determine the position of the child and to stimulate birth by a circular stroking of the abdomen with her hand flat. Meanwhile the upper back of the mother is braced against the breast of the kneeling midwife behind her; if the child is held back for a long time, the mother falls entirely on her back, with her outspread legs somewhat drawn up. The midwife now squats in front of her and continues stroking her abdomen with the palm of her hand. As soon as the child begins to appear, she carefully helps it, and with the last contraction of the uterus muscles, she catches it in her open hands.

Sometimes the so-called adopted mother (p. 511) performs this last-mentioned service. Basically, the woman first mentioned functions merely as the midwife, and further care of the newborn child is given by the adopted mother. Often both tasks are performed by one and the same woman.

[856] No matter what the arrangement is, when the child appears the helper is always very careful not to grasp it by its left arm or hand, but by the right. Sometimes it is hard to tell the difference, but unless this is done, the child would become left-handed and would be awkward in the use of the sling. Immediately this woman passes

/722 cont./

846 where it can be easily seen. It is supposed to remind him that mother and child still need special consideration.

catch the little tree runner, tĕčikášina (Aphrastura spinicauda), which often visits the dwelling out of curiosity. The mother then gives the child its own umbilical cord, and it must put this little ring around the neck of the bird, which flies away with it. This custom is meant to show everyone with what love and care the mother can keep such an intimate little thing and that therefore she is capable of lavishing incomparably more care and attachment on the child itself (156).

[171] 156. I pointed out an almost identical custom among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 377).

●856 The women of the Cape Horn Archipelago, like the Selk'nam women (Vol. I, 372), give their newborn babies a sort of stroking treatment. They call it wíša, meaning "to form the body of the child." From the first day they strive to give the child a beautiful, well-proportioned form by stretching out and adjusting the limbs and by stroking and gently massaging the entire body. Almost any woman, but usually the adopted mother (p. 512), puts the various parts of arms and legs into position, strokes them lengthwise, gives them direction, puts the little body and head level, and, as it were, models the whole figure. The other part of the treatment consists of a gentle stroking of the individual areas of the body with the woman's flattened hand, without actually massaging. In long sweeps, the woman strokes the arms and legs, presses all around the joints with the palm of her hand, rubs all sides of the torso with a circular motion, and finally takes the little head in her cupped, ceaselessly stroking hands. Furthermore she handles the legs and feet, arms and hands, ears and eyelids, lips and chin, neck and nipples as though she were obliged to give all of them definite direction. The woman obviously enjoys this and never tires of repeating this stroking treatment daily. The child's own mother sees to it that it is not omitted a single day if possible, and she herself carries it out again and again if a neighbor or relative is not available to do it. Its purpose is to help the child to grow

/722 cont./

856 properly, to become well-proportioned, and to develop a beautiful figure.

856 That this treatment of the infant is not without a tinge of
789 magic may be seen from the way it is concluded. As soon as a woman ceases the prolonged stroking, she clenches her hands and puts her fists to her mouth so that the bent thumbs touch her lips. With a sharp thrust she extends her arms out in front of her and opens her fists, palms forward and fingers outstretched. At the same time she expels her breath in a sharp "pš," as though the "unbeautiful, ugly, /723/ deformed" had been gathered together with the hands and were now being blown away. One sees this motion being practiced a great deal by the yčkamuš.

856 In this wiša process every woman is, of course, extremely gentle and sensitive; she is careful not to press on the fontanel, aiyatasa, which she knows to be a very sensitive spot. For about three weeks the new infant must submit to this forming, stroking, and arranging of his little body. It causes him not the slightest discomfort.

835 The following belongs in the category of superstition. When
894 the sea duck, dĕška (Tachyeres patachonicus), flies over the hut,
774 all the occupants are startled, for they are afraid that it will take away the "spirit," that is, the vitality of the children. The adults hasten to cover all the children with pieces of leather and, with outstretched arms, they grope through the air, as though they were trying to hold back "the spirit" of the children. As though they had gathered it up in the air, they draw their arms in again and make a proffering and throwing motion toward the children, at the same time uttering a long-drawn-out "š." It is well known that immediately after birth the parents may not eat the meat of dĕška, otherwise the life of the child is endangered (p. 503).

854 Most of the day the babies move freely or lie in the mother's lap. With their little hands they touch and grasp everything they can reach. They are given individual small stones and sticks, mussel shells, and little twigs that happen to lie nearby, but the Yamana do [524] not make actual toys. Perhaps it is too much trouble for them always to take along and carefully store toys, no matter how simple. It seems to me that Yamana babies, compared to those on Isla Grande, are much quieter and much less inclined to play. True, the mother puts all kinds of small necklaces around her darling, in order to adorn

/733 cont./

854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it *is* absolutely necessary, 853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and 862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness dur- 145 ing the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has 856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

/734 cont./

is almost mute, until, at about a year and a half, he suddenly pronounces complete words. The young Fuegians do not carry on constant babbling monologues, as do European babies almost without exception. A few weeks before they venture to come out with full speech, however, they apparently do some silent speech exercises. They move their lips and tongues and show by their expressions that they are thinking and mentally active. The parents observe this inward activity with satisfaction. The children's earliest speech is somewhat awkward, but it is very much like the speech of adults. The latter almost never make any effort to help or correct the child. He is left to himself, no matter how much difficulty he has or how incorrectly he speaks. Later he corrects his own mistakes by listening and comparing. Similarly in subsequent years no adult ever teaches the child to speak clearly and correctly.

When the child enters his third year, there is usually a younger brother or sister to whom the mother gives her full attention. After that he is left even more to his own devices. Then he begins to seek the company of his older brothers and sisters and of other children, but keeps as much as possible to those of his own age. The play instinct brings these little ones together. They are well content by themselves. Sometimes they squat in a circle for hours, scratching the ground with their fingers, or they grub in the gravel or roll back and /735/ forth on the grass. In these early years they do not play any real games, but they look at everything with attentive eyes and probingly feel everything that seems strange to them. They do not whisper to each other about their experiences, nor do they talk together animatedly. Everywhere, even when they are with other children, they give the stranger the impression that they are thoughtful, patient observers, an attitude which every European would attribute to older children.

The parents enjoy daily observation of the small body which visibly unfolds. Supposedly in order to accelerate growth, they resort to a magical custom known as mūasa, which means roughly "to stretch upward." Either the father or someone else calls the child, makes him stretch up both arms, embraces him, and lifts him high enough so that their two faces are almost on top of each other. Then the child must squeeze down out of this embrace, and he wriggles his head through, with his face turned upward, he

/735 cont./

856 171 utters a loud and long-drawn-out "pš" just once. This movement is repeated several times with the child, and after a few days or weeks he is asked to do it again (175).

175. The candidates in the men's ceremony of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 1019) are given almost the same treatment, and likewise to make them grow quickly.

856 [825] There is another custom that has the same purpose. An adult, with the tips of his thumb and index finger, picks up the larva, uskájamina, of a large capricorn beetle grubbing in a decayed tree trunk and squeezes it gently. The larva, as though in defense, opens the two parts of its upper jaw, which have very sharp points. With these the person scratches a vertical line on the child's chest, slightly outside the nipples, and another line from the corners of the mouth to the ear lobes. This is the custom among the western Yamana. In the east they merely scratch a pair of lines on the back, on either side of the spinal column. This procedure is repeated often on the same child, but without any definite arrangement.

I was told that children endure teething quietly and with resignation. The parents pay little attention to this process, although they are pleased that the child has reached this tangible stage in his development. Later when the permanent teeth are pushing through and the first baby tooth is loose, they send the child to the beach where he must pull out the loose tooth with his own hand and toss it in a wide arc into the sea. At the same time he must visualize the short-nosed dolphin (Lagenorhynchus F.) and repeat in a low voice: [825]

sauyánux,	tun	hája	tágu
Dolphin,	tooth	me	give.

He also turns to pérr (Patella) and yekérr (Chiton, snail) (176)

176. It is clearly recognizable that the allusion is to the rows of teeth in the jaws of dolphins, to the toothlike edge of the Patella shells, and to the hair-soft, tufted bristles of most Chiton species.

/735 cont./

856 and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also toss his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

855 During the further development manifested by the child, not only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives 856 and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

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177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

861 With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

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517 time and unspent energy is devoted to rest or modest social demands. The Yamana do have a feeling for beauty and an understanding of proportion, but the conditions of life are not conducive to a rich development of these tendencies. The Yamana does not receive much stimulation for aesthetic enjoyment or artistic activity from his environment, which is clothed in dull colors and presents wildly chaotic forms. A desire for them emerges now and then from his innermost nature, however, and actually expresses itself within modest limits in one way or another.

1. Sense of Beauty

832 On some occasions our Fuegians indisputably demonstrate their well-developed sense for physical beauty. They prefer a slim, mobile, well proportioned, moderately tall figure, /1462/ full of healthy energy. Such a figure is particularly impressive to youthful representatives of the opposite sex, who quite openly speak about it in company. Marriageable boys and girls are sometimes considerably influenced and affected by the physical form of the person of their choice (p. 399). /Fig. 101 appears here./ *

[856] Parents and close relatives are anxious that a baby develop a beautiful figure from its earliest years. This is the chief purpose of a kind of light massage (p. 525), although this alone does not always guarantee success. It is said that a particularly attractive and graceful baby usually changes to the opposite and becomes ugly, whereas often a less beautiful child becomes very well formed after a few years. In the eyes of our Fuegians body hair

302 is unpleasant; hence they pluck out underarm and pubic hair, as well as beard hair (p. 82). For this purpose they like to use two mussel shells that fit together like a pair of pincers. Some people take great pains with the hair, oiling it with blubber and combing it several times a day (p. 85). Most of them have it shortened in due time, so that it hangs about shoulder-level (p. 81); it is not gathered into braids. When, in exceptional cases, some men have their head hair cut off before a fight, it is because they wish to prevent their opponents from grabbing their hair and pulling them

832 by it. A European also finds the same satisfaction in the figures